1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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(*are* understood). Why do you not make some? *i kuenks be-ke mokkur we juwo?* why thou not gun round (things) make? There is no clay (or material); *mokkur wochika ke ku*, gun round (things) material no more. Is your gun a good one? *be mokkur boi?* thou (thy) gun good? Does it shoot well? *itu boi?* shoot well (or good)? Good morning; *be shke'na?* thou art awake, or arisen (literally, straightened up). Reply; *je* (I) *shke'na. Be ratski;* thou hast arrived (salutation on a person entering a house). *Je ratski*, I have arrived. How are you? *is be 'iso?* how thou (*el-so'-si*) art? I am well; *je 'iso boi.* Where did you come from? *wesh be bete'?* where thou start? Who went with——? *ji re ——ta?* who went—— with? I did not see; *ke je wai suna*, not I (*wai* idiom) saw. I do not know; *ke je wai uphchen.* This *wai* occurs nowhere except in these two instances. What did you go for? *iub be re?* why thou went? I went to call my people; *je re je wakipa ikiu*, I went I (my) people to call. Are they coming? *yepa ratski?* they come (or arrive? No; I think they have gone away; *au; je kenbeku ye micho*, No; I think they have gone. Let us go too; *mishka hekepi*, let us go alike. Where is——? *wesh——?* He has gone ahead; *ye 't-katke*, he has walked ahead (see note on *i-shku*, in conjugation). Put on your clothes; *be sa-wi' i-u*, thou clothing (cotton) put into. 193

SECTION II.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Although the tradition exists that the people of Terraba are a comparatively late emigration from the region of the Tiribis, and although the tradition is sustained by the general resemblances of language, and by the fact that the Brunkas (or Borucas), evidently older occupants of the soil, are crowded into a corner like the Celtic tribes of Europe; yet there are marked differences between the idioms spoken in Tiribi and in Terraba. The Dialects of Southern Costa Rica can be divided into three groups: First, the Bri-bri and the Cabecar; second, the Tiribi and Terraba; and lastly, the Brunka. The three divisions possess many roots and even entire words in common, and may well be compared in their resemblances and differences with the Latin languages. The first group is strongly marked by the short i before nearly all verbs and by a generally more musical sound; while the second is harsh, in consequence of the frequent repetition of sound of *z*. The Cabecar i before the verb is not so persistent as in Bri-bri, but is more strongly pronounced, approaching more nearly the ordinary Latin or Spanish *i*. The terminations *ung* and *ong* are as marked as the sign of the verb, in the second group, as i is in the first. The *z* which almost invariably accompanies this termination, is rarely a part of the last syllable, but is usually sounded at the end of the penultimate, unless when abbreviated into *zu* or *zo*. 197 [174]

A gradual process of change is clearly discernible in these languages. As yet the Bri-bri and Tiribi have been but little affected. But the Cabecar of Coen is absorbing many Bri-bri words because the people of the Coen, although they use their local dialect among themselves, all speak Bri-

101 Moyaguas of whom nothing is known, who do not seem to be Cabécares are the Urinamás, although as early as 1709 they spoke the Cabécar tongue.[83] Pittier and Lehmann associate them with the Bribri although it is difficult to understand the reason for such classification.[84] The Urinamás are always named in the documents referring to the 17th and 18th centuries as distinct from the Cavécaras (Cabécares) and Talamancas.[85] Cabécar is used today for the group west of the Coen River although Talamanca is also an all-inclusive term to cover both the eastern and the western peoples. The Chirripó are a Cabécar branch and are found in the mountains and valley of that name. There are a few families in the upper Estrella Valley who are related to the Cabécares.

There is relatively little mention in the source material of the significance of the term Cabécar. According to the actual Indians, the name comes from *kabé* (quetzal) and *ká* [136] (place). There are quetzals in the high moun- [133] tain country but not in Cabécar itself which has an altitude of only 400 meters. It is inter- [262] esting that these people eat quetzal whenever they have a chance.

175 **Non-Documental History of Talamanca.** As Gabb has pointed out, it is difficult to gather information regarding the history of these tribes.[86] From the Spanish accounts available, we find that upon their arrival there was a Mexican group which dominated the Sixaola or Talamanca Valley, and that the Franciscan [797] fathers in particular noted the linguistic differences in certain regions. There is no colonial 174 documentation which cites the aboriginal conquests and we are forced to accept traditions and what we can glimpse through the customs of the existent peoples to indicate at least some of the remote happenings.

One of these events appears to have been the conquest of the Cabécares by the Bribri with the result that the secular head of both groups had to be Bribri, but the intellectual leaders

[83] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 458.
[84] Pittier, 1898, p. 16; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 216, 219; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 385, 445–46, 460.
[85] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 381, 389.
[86] Gabb, 1875, pp. 487–88.
[87] Gabb, 1875, p. 488. The Tiribis are the same [101] people as the actual Térrabas whose homeland is the

174 [721] continued to be Cabécar. Gabb [37] was the first to mention this as well as to recount the tradition of war between the Bribri and Tiribis which ended in 1827.[38] As a consequence, the winning Bribri became the political rulers of [643] Talamanca. From this phenomenon, a King of Talamanca evolved.

643 At the time of Gabb, one family had the "hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to [642] 1873, the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government." [39] The chief was followed at his death by the best-suited person in the royal family, not necessarily the son. The situation in Talamanca at this period was so complex that a number of candidates for the position, all blood relatives, appeared. Each "King" was woefully lacking in preparation and was too firm an addict of alcohol. A sailor 643 from Baltimore, Mr. John H. Lyon, who went 648 to Talamanca in 1858 looking for fortune, fell in love with the country and made it his home. He had an Indian family and acquired such a strong position among these people that the Costa Rican government finally asked him to accept the task of governing the Talamancas.[40] For the purposes of the present study, it is worth noting that the memory of the "King" still remains and the clan to which the "King" belonged has continued as a mixture of Bribri and Cabécar (*see* Social Organization).

101 **The Southern Side of the Talamanca Range.** South of the Talamanca Range two names are associated with the region under discussion, the Coto and the Turucaca as we noted before. None of these peoples exist today although their blood remains in that of the composite Boruca of southeastern Costa Rica.[41]

In this area, however, on the very slopes of the range, are two settlements of Bribri and [361] one of Cabécares, while in the General Valley, west of Potrero Grande, a small group of Cabécares are located in China Kichá (Orange Root) [42] at the confluence of the Pejibayal with the General River.

[101] upper Changuinola River in Panama, and who inhabited at one time the Zorquín River.

[37] *See* Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 127.
[38] Gabb, 1875, p. 489.
[39] Gabb, 1875, pp. 489–91.
[40] Stone, 1949.
[42] *Kichá* also means "string or rope."

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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[P. 8(A)]

101 The two Bribri groups are to be found at
361 Cabagra [43] and Salitre (*Seri*) and amount to
[162] approximately 895 people. Cabagra lies near the pass to the upper Lari beside a river bearing its name which is an important tributary of the Diquís. It is about four leagues from Potrero Grande. The exact date of the arrival
● [174] of Bribri here is not known although it was probably at the end of the 19th century as many of the older inhabitants were born on the Lari and Urén rivers. One tradition holds
173 that certain families fled across the Talamanca
166 Range because they had not adhered to clan
[614] regulations in marriage. It is perhaps of significance that very few clans form the groups in both places, and that as people, they are the first to divert from ancient tribal customs. Another popular belief is that Berchi, a king of Talamanca, caused numerous people to flee because of his extreme cruelty (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*). Some inhabitants of Cabagra moved westward to Salitre. Gradually, both places have grown as a result of the arrival of other families from the northeast as well as an increased birth rate.

At the end of the pass from the upper Coen is Ujarrás of the Cabécares which was settled for a similar reason at the same general time.
[582] It is said that "the King of Talamanca prohibited marriage between brothers [44] and one couple who had disobeyed the rules fled and went to Ujarrás." Others followed to the ex-
[Text continues top of P. 8(B)--Qualys]

LANGUAGE

197 **Connections and Previous Studies.** The majority of linguists connect both the Bribri and the Cabécar tongues with Chibcha.[45] However, they are sufficiently removed from one another that they are not mutually interchangeable. The intellectually more advanced, but at
[191] the same time conquered, Cabécares generally understand and speak Bribri with exception of
[Text continues bottom of P. 8(B)--Qualys]

[109] [43] This name has no meaning in any existing tongue. The site should not be confused with N.S. de la Luz
[797] de Cabagra which was founded in 1745 by the Franciscan fathers and settled with Térraba Indians two leagues from San Francisco de Térraba. Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 504.

[44] It should be remembered that these people are organized on the basis of matrilineal clans. (*See* Social